1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

101 13 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as portrayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[631] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] [249] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

Epirus, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

[433] [243] *Thessaly*, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[648] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] [788] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[731] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

these views during the last century and the early part of this century, when the struggle for independence was reverberating through Epirus, Macedonia, and other areas frequented by these nomads.

A detached assessment of the situation, and yet one without much tangible evidence to support it, would place these Wallachians as descended from Balkanites of Roman times, who were Latinized by colonists, army garrisons, or some other continued type of association. When the Slavs came pushing into the Balkans during the sixth century, the Wallachians retreated to the mountain areas and continued (or took up) sheep raising and remained relatively unmolested. Since they could not wrest an adequate living from their barren surroundings, many of the men found it necessary to migrate elsewhere for work. Some were gone many years, and some would go away for only part of the year, but almost all of them learned some trade, becoming important as builders and artisans all over the Balkans. Of even greater importance was their role as caravan owners and drivers. They raised not only sheep but many horses which they concentrated at certain points such as Thessalonike, loaded them with merchandise, and conveyed the goods through well-defined routes to Vienna or down to the Adriatic. Considerable wealth was amassed in this way. Some of their settlements two hundred years ago — for example, Moschopolis in present-day Albania — were centers of culture and wealth. With the coming of railroads, their caravans were no longer so necessary; and with the growing unrest in the Balkans during the past hundred years, free passage from one country to another was increasingly difficult. Although the various treaties following the Balkan wars and World War I provided for the free movement of these nomads from one country to another, particularly with their flocks, the borders had in effect been closed to them even before the start of World War II.

This, in a brief and general way, is the background of these Vlach nomads. In the days under the Turks, early in the century, when Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece were claiming large chunks of Macedonia, each tried to make a case for large groupings of its own people. The Vlachs, chiefly Greek Orthodox in religion and with a knowledge of Greek as well as their own Romance language, were claimed by the Greeks as their own. Many Vlachs agreed with this, despite the appeals made by Rumanians to the contrary.

My chief contacts with the Koutso-Vlachs during 1953 were in Metsovo, one of their most celebrated villages, and along the roads of Greece. On the road between Arta and Ioannina, for example, one bold young shepherd girl named Maria, seeing women (my wife and the interpreter) in the car with me, asked for a ride. She was Koutso-Vlach and was on a nine-day trip back to the summer village in the mountains which she considered her permanent home. We passed some of her companions leading

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

supporting Greek version of "Standing on the Corner, Watching All the Girls Go By."

Or, in Northern Greece and the Grammos Mountains, one would find in the village of Kotili, with about six hundred people, that there were two shops which sold cigarettes and coffee.[8] A score of the men, in addition to being farmers and shepherds, were woodworkers; another score were masons, and one was a cobbler. That represented the specialization of that village, since all the other men were farmers-shepherds-laborers. But it is at coffeehouses such as those in Kotili, close by the border, that one gains an insight into the real meaning of Balkan politics. For here the older villagers will tell the visitor of the days back in the first decade of the century when Bulgarian *komitadjis*, while the area was still under Turkey, came to try to persuade the people to join the Bulgarian cause. But the people remained loyal to the orders of their church authorities and resisted the efforts of the Bulgarians to enroll their local children in special schools or to enlist the adults in a premature revolt against the Turks. As one listens to the stories of violence and national struggle, the surrounding mountains which at first seemed peaceful begin to assume a brooding look. And one learns that national traditions are preserved and passed on in the coffeehouse, with the old men telling the eager young men of the price that was paid to keep them Greek.

Vamvakia, on the Serrai plains, provides a final illustration of the combined variety shop–coffeehouse.[9] This village, too, numbers about six hundred people and has as its only business a cheese-making establishment and three coffeehouses. There is also one carriage maker who farms as well. The merchandise for the shops is brought from Serrai by the bus driver, who takes in the orders and brings back the supplies for a small fee. These coffeehouses are of brick and clay-mud construction and have the usual equipment of small tables and chairs. Two of them have battery radios for the entertainment of the customers. Coffee is the usual beverage, while ouzo and soda drinks (in summer) are also popular. Spoon sweets, such as vanilla or fruit preserves, are often sold.

We may conclude, therefore, that in most villagers of less than a thousand people one will generally find coffeehouses of the combined variety-shop type. Although the women may now and then view them as shops, the men almost invariably think of them as coffeehouses. This social function outweighs any economic function they might possess.

As size increases, say to more than a thousand people, the variety shops and grocery stores become separate establishments and the coffeehouse devotes itself almost exclusively to serving beverages. This is what most Greeks would consider the typical village coffeehouse, although the relative numbers of each kind are not known.

The specialized coffeehouses can frequently accommodate fifty to seventy

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[XVI]

Social Change in Rural Greece

The Greek social spectrum, the rainbow in the rock, is losing some of its hues today. This occurs as regions of Greece, despite their traditional social differences, adjust to common changes engulfing the whole country. The fact of change is accepted by all, but the evaluation of specific kinds of change (in family life, economic development, political trends) varies with the position of the person passing judgment. For most villagers, changes — at least those they want — are not occurring fast enough. When I had sorted out and studied their comments, which usually dealt with some facet of change, past or present, I found that the experiences they related could be grouped under three general types: the *cataclysmic* change caused by some great social or natural upheaval; the changes resulting from *social drift*, or the slower spread of unplanned change as new ways moved from town to village; and the *planned* change, most frequently sponsored by government agencies in an effort to raise the level of living in the villages.[1]

178

Cataclysmic Change

Almost every generation of Greeks has experienced some social dislocation accompanying a war or, at least, armed encounters. The present adult population has had more than its share. While the country was busy with the tasks of assimilating the northern provinces, wrested from Turkey in

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the First Balkan War (1913), and of recuperating from the First World War, the Greek forces, with the permission of the Great Powers, occupied an area around Smyrna, Turkey. Then they pushed inland in 1921 to attack the Turkish forces under Kemal Pasha in the hope of occupying the part of Turkey peopled by many Greeks. The highly nationalistic Turks, following the defeat of the Greeks, rose against the Greek-speaking residents of Asia Minor as well as the retreating Greek army.

In the Treaty of Lausanne (January 1923) Greece and Turkey agreed to exchange their populations then living under the control of the other, as a result of which over a million Greeks migrated from Asia Minor to Greece proper and over 400,000 Turks left Greece for Turkey. In addition, exchanges of 46,000 Greeks from Bulgaria and 53,000 Bulgarians from Greece [3] followed the Treaty of Neuilly, which dealt with Bulgaria for her participation with the Central Powers in World War I.

In my various visits to Northern Greece, I had difficulty in fully appreciating the immensity of the impact of these refugees upon Greek national life. I could try to imagine what it must mean for any country, especially one as deficient in natural resources as Greece was in the 1920s, to have 22 percent of its total population made up of recently displaced persons, many of whom were widows and children whose husbands and fathers had perished in the ordeals of Asia Minor. It was as though the United States, which consisted of about 110 million at that time, were to receive over 24 million immigrants in a three- to four-year period, as compared with the figure of just over a million, representing the largest number to arrive in any previous year.

As I listened with interest to the involved story of a single family's flight and their subsequent difficulties, I could comprehend, at least in part, what this experience had meant to them.[4] Or I could follow the complaints of the leaders of a community, such as those in Thomai, Thessaly (Chapter 4), who, as late as 1953, were talking of how much better off they had been when living in caves in Turkey with all the land they wanted to cultivate. Yet, when I tried to multiply these experiences of a few to those of a thousand displaced people, with all of their pent-up emotions and problems, I had to stretch my imagination to the fullest and admit the futility of trying to multiply this thousand by another thousand if I were to seek to encompass the totality of the refugee problem in Greece in the 1920s. No wonder the League of Nations stepped in to render assistance, as did philanthropic groups in the United States and elsewhere.

What happens to a nation when it receives newcomers up to one fifth of its total number? What complications arise when these refugees come from different geographic and cultural areas, bound together only by the sense that their families were Greek in origin? By 1952-53, most of these settlers had adjusted to their new conditions and were making significant contribu-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

XVII

Social Consequences of Foreign Aid

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This excursion through the Greek countryside should have shown that all change, whether in the guise of foreign aid or not, has definite social consequences. Social relationships as well as economic sectors are affected. Nor are these social consequences simply political in character; they go much deeper into the social structure. This should not seem mysterious, although it is often overlooked, for any program of economic development or political reconstruction has to work through people, through their social organization as it exists or as it is being fashioned anew. Despite this truism, and the fact that the economic and political aspects of foreign aid have been dramatically debated and ably analyzed by competent scholars, the social consequences are still *terra incognita* to many American specialists abroad. Furthermore, foreign aid, by its very nature, is designed not to maintain the status quo but to promote social change.

Foreign Aid Means Social Change

For anyone who is thinking through a philosophy of social change, the Greek experience is significant. It was a battleground between Western and Communist ideology and between conflicting loyalties. Here, through the Truman Doctrine, the United States intervened to influence the outcome, and succeeded. But the military defeat of the Communist-led guerrilla forces

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

177 648 was not enough: American dollars and American specialists came into the country — one might almost say they inundated the country — to improve health programs, statistical services, transportation routes, agriculture, homemaking, educational facilities, social welfare, foreign trade, and industry. Some idea of the extent of the financial cost is gained from a simple calculation: if Greece had received one million dollars a year since the time of Alexander the Great, the amount received would *not quite* equal the approximately two and one-half billion dollars received since World War II. Greece is often cited as the prize exhibit of the United States in the cold-war struggle. While such a presentation often overlooks the great contribution that the Greek people themselves made to their own recovery, as well as the help received from Britain and numerous international agencies and organizations, Americans were indubitably the chief agents of change in the sense of providing specialized knowledge about many facets of life. From Greece, many of these same specialists went on to Taiwan, Viet Nam, and other underdeveloped, or formerly colonial, areas where American technical assistance was in demand.

000 This is not surprising, nor was it entirely a matter of choice. The United States and other Western societies are forced into being agents of change by at least two major features of our way of life: one is our dynamic Western economy, which can no more operate effectively within a political boundary than spilled water can be contained by lines drawn on a table; the other feature is the explosive quality of the political and social ideas which we have inherited from our founding fathers and which we have implemented sufficiently to show the great promise which their further realization would bring. Around the world, words such as democracy, equality, freedom, brotherhood, progress are magic symbols to peoples awaking from centuries of life in a traditional mold and now part of the great "revolution of rising expectations." Our businessmen, financiers, and industrialists are developing world-wide economic perspectives, not because they necessarily want to but because they have to. They also know that in their foreign operations whatever location they choose, what they manufacture or extract from the earth, how they organize the activity, training, and benefits they give their workers, how much they contribute in taxes to local governments — all of these considerations and many more make them agents of change and, in that sense, constitute interference.

As for the revolutionary ideas now spreading to many shores, we can identify many of them as American or Western and should be deeply concerned with the interpretations that they receive. These interpretations go back to a foreign society's immediate experience with our armed forces abroad, the older teachings and examples of Western missionaries, the educational and cultural exchanges which expose future leaders of other countries, often while immature, to the good and bad points of our way of life.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

369 [177] [467]

serves special commendation. They provided for the Greek labor leaders a type of training which not only made them more effective officials but which also instilled a sense of responsibility in many of them. A similar type of training was not held for the new managers of industries being created with funds furnished by the United States.

Finally, the newcomer to the city has to develop a self-discipline which was not necessary in a village where intimate social controls were so permeating. To hold a job, one must live by certain rules and routines; to keep out of trouble with the police or with neighbors in a workers' apartment house, one must respect the rights of others; to receive promotions, one must add to one's knowledge and skills or else win the favor of those in positions of superiority. It is in these connections that adult-education courses or people's universities (for the working class) serve a useful purpose, even though reaching only a fraction of the eligible population. To visit these classes and to watch daily laborers, some born in the city and others in the villages, strive for more education makes one aware of the changes being ushered in on every hand in these developing countries.

From Subject to Citizen

641 [648]

Almost every developing country has within its recent memory the fact of liberation from some outside power. The more than four centuries of Turkish rule have left their imprint on Greek local government, as have the heroic episodes connected with the Greek war of independence. Other countries, more recently liberated, have even more vivid memories of what it means to be a subject whose political fate is decided at the seat of an empire far removed from the subject's homeland.

[177]

One purpose of our foreign-aid program, at least as enunciated by some of the most authoritative American spokesmen, is to help establish democratic forms of government wherever people can be found who are receptive to this development. But democracy as we conceive it calls for an enlightened citizenry, conscious of the fact that much sovereignty resides in its hands and that regularly scheduled elections provide an opportunity to express its will. It also assumes that governmental leaders will be aware of and responsive to the rise and fall of public opinion about crucial issues.

It is appropriate to ask, therefore, what the necessary conditions are for the shift of an individual from the position of a subject to that of a citizen. Once this is understood, its connection with a foreign-aid program becomes apparent. Again, observations of the Greek scene help us to understand other areas.

The first condition which usually, though not invariably, comes about is the rise of nationalism and the identification of an individual with a larger political entity. Any study of village life will reveal the parochialism of many villagers, which in the developing countries means that they are not

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional methods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

[876]

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

[609]

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

[861]

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of
527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of Octo-
[292] ber), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic
[648] poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the
[541] Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

[796] The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast
[541] of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and
[536] by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets,
[522] which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear
[535] women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
[621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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are chosen. Before presenting himself to a bishop the candidate for ordination must decide finally and irrevocably to what state of life he is called, since marriage is not permitted after ordination. This rule, as will appear when we come to consider the training of the Greek clergy, gives rise to many grave practical problems.

Such then, very briefly, is the framework of the diocesan and parochial organisation. The married clergy, "in parishes, residing on their cures", form a distinct class with well-defined duties and limitations peculiar to their condition; while the general administration of the diocese, the ministries of preaching and confessing, together with the organisation of the catechetical schools and Christian Unions which have become so important an element in the pattern of Greek church life within the last few years, are the immediate responsibility of the metropolitan assisted by his headquarters staff of monks and lay theologians.

The Greek bishop is still in a very real sense the *persona* of his diocese: the natural leader of the whole community in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Not for nothing is he commonly referred to as ὁ Δεσπότης, 'the Despot'. During the Turkish occupation the power of the bishop within his own diocese was all but unbounded, and as he had formerly mediated between his people and the Turkish authorities so, more recently, it was he who commonly bore the heaviest burden of responsibility during the occupation of Greece by the Axis troops. Archbishop Damaskinos was called to play, on a wider stage and before a larger audience, it is true, a part which was being sustained no less faithfully, albeit more obscurely, by many of his brethren in the provincial towns of Greece during the years from 1941 to 1945. Though times have changed since the day when the people of Salonica overthrew the minarets of the fleeing oppressor with such patriotic and religious ardour that many casualties were caused by the falling masonry, the Greek bishop still maintains a style befitting his position. The metropolis (where it has survived the destruction of the war years) is generally amongst the most impressive and substantial structures of a provincial town, and though the bishop is readily accessible to all and sundry, he nevertheless bears himself with considerable dignity. When he walks abroad, carrying a silver-headed staff and accompanied by a deacon, the people draw aside to let him pass, bowing their heads and putting off their caps. The faithful who come to the metropolis—whether they be peasants from some nearby hamlet or senior army officers from the

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A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

When the Metropolitan was suitably attired he took his silver-headed stick and we set out in a little procession towards the cathedral church of St. Demetrius, which towers above the wretched cottages that surround it like some great vessel among her attendant tugs. The Metropolitan and myself were preceded by the parish priest, while well ahead there danced a certain Anargyri, whose daily joy and responsibility it is to remove straying cattle and goats from the Bishop's path, to wave to their feet the loungers on doorsteps, the coffee drinkers and those who play *trictrac* in their leafy retreats; finally, to silence the village's solitary gramophone and other profane noises. As our little procession hove in sight, the bell-ringer, stationed among his charges at the summit of the campanile, shattered the slumbers of all who had immoderately prolonged their siesta, and we made our way up the steps into the narthex of a surprisingly lofty church.

After evensong we returned, somewhat less formally, to the Bishop's cottage for supper—a simple meal of potatoes and fruit (by reason of the fast) which was shared by his two nephews, both of them orphans. I slept that night at an inn adjoining the cottage-metropolis.

The following morning, it being Sunday, we were in church from a quarter to seven until a little after ten. The liturgy ended, the colonel in charge of the local garrison drove us out in his jeep to the village of Granitsi, high on the wooded hills above the plateau, where we sat under a great oak while the villagers came to greet their father in God and brought little gifts of fruit and honey.

At evensong in the cathedral that evening, while the cantors sang of:

> Things creeping innumerable,
> Both small and great beasts,

a dormouse appeared from behind the cupboard where the liturgical books were stored, and sat most devoutly before the beautiful doors for a considerable space. The Bishop told me afterwards that it was the first mouse—the colloquial *pontikos*, with a twinkle at my use of the classical word—he had seen in the church during the four years that had elapsed since his consecration as Metropolitan of the smallest and poorest see of Greece.

The old diocese of Nevrokopi had included 120 communities. After the first Balkan war, however, it had been partitioned, and ninety of its villages as well as the town of Nevrokopi now lie within Bulgarian

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
●648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
[162] about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
722 whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
166 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward. When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
[736] in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[346] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away, which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
[493] before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto, as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers, above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

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NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

As of Orthodox Christendom in general, so of the Church of Greece in particular, it may be said that the monastic life has been of quite unique importance in shaping her life and piety. This is no less true of the long centuries of the captivity than of the earlier and more formative ages of her history. Even to-day, when the monasteries are subject to widespread criticism, the ancient traditions of monastic spirituality persist and sometimes reveal themselves most unmistakably in precisely those circles where hostility toward the existing institutions—especially in their more idiorrhythmic forms—is most evident and outspoken. It needs to be remembered that the first stirrings of the new missionary spirit, which has had so notable an effect upon the Greek Church within the space of the last 100 years, centre upon the great monastery of Megaspelaion in the Peloponnese, and that Eusebius Matthopoulos, the founder of the Brotherhood of Life, was himself a monk of this convent, steeped in the ascetic traditions of his Church.

"There is no place where the *Greek* Religion is professed", says Rycaut, "so famous for Monasteries as that of Mount *Athos*; and indeed if we consider the number of them, and of the Religious belonging thereunto, it is not to be parallel'd in all the world . . . the grand Conservatory of the Christian Religion in *Greece*, and ancient austerity of living, and therefore not unaptly stiled by them *Ἅγιον ὄρος*, or the *Holy Mountain* . . . the high Pique or Peer whereof . . . is uneven, craggy, and as horrid as Caucasus."

Athos remains, after more than 1,000 years, the heart of Greek monasticism. Isolated and aloof, the life of the holy mountain moves to a slow rhythm which is as little susceptible of change or alteration as the constant surge of the waters about the rocky promontory, in whose narrow clefts and ledges the anchorites roost like wild sea fowl. In Greece one can never wholly escape from the all-pervading influence of Athos. One is always dimly aware of the holy mountain, brooding over the dark waters of the Aegean, its head wrapped in the clouds. At the very heart of fashionable Athens one may encounter a student-deacon from the *sketai* of St. Anne, or a stately *epitropos* in silken gown bound for the offices of the Holy Synod.

Thanks to its isolation, Athos suffered comparatively little from the ravages of war—though many monks endured imprisonment and ill-treatment, and considerable damage was done to monastic properties scattered about the mainland of northern Greece. The Communist revolution in Russia and the subsequent division of Europe into two

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792 hostile camps have, however, already gone far towards transforming the
648 holy mountain into a purely Hellenic preserve, and threaten wholly to deprive it of the pan-Orthodox character which it yet retains, despite the fact that for many years now every monk has been required to adopt Greek nationality. Three of the twenty ruling monasteries—St. Panteleimon, Zographou and Chilandari—are non-Hellenic convents, being Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian respectively. In former days these monasteries were amongst the wealthiest on the mountain; St. Panteleimon, in particular, with its numerous dependencies—some of the latter far larger than any other ruling monastery—could boast of more monks than were to be found in all the other convents together. All these alien monasteries, however, were dependent mainly upon the produce of lands which now lie behind the iron curtain, and to-day, cut off as they are from their sources both of supply and of recruitment, they are in a most melancholy condition.

Of all the thousands of Russian monks who once inhabited the holy mountain scarcely 300 remain. The majority of these are aged and infirm: many of them physically incapable of cultivating the vegetables, olives and vineyards which now form the monastery's only means of support. It is now more than thirty-five years since the monks have been cut off from their own land. A certain amount of assistance continued to reach Athos from the Russian community in Jerusalem, but this also has ceased since the property became subject to the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarchate. With the passing of the years the position of the alien monasteries becomes more and more desperate, as the list of invalids grows longer, and fewer and fewer hands are available for the support of those who can no longer work; and greatly as one may regret the fact, the day seems not far distant when Athos will become a purely Hellenic community.

792 Mount Athos apart, the organised religious life has come very near
727 to complete suppression in northern and central Greece during the last few years. I have already said something of the sufferings of the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi. The fortunes of two or three other important monasteries are not without a certain melancholy interest.

[361] Take, for example, the ancient convent of Eikosiphoinisses, which traces its foundation to the second decade of the sixth century: a vast walled enclosure on the wooded slopes of Mount Pangaion, accessible only by mule-tracks winding high above the marshes of Philippi. It is said that there were some fifty monks inhabiting the convent at the

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created as it were out of nothing. Everywhere these institutions were hastily improvised in the face of desperate and clamorous necessity, and, more often than not, maintained with a heroic disregard for the universal lack of material resources, and a courage worthy of a St. Vincent de Paul. 727 794

In almost every diocese the bishop bore a heavy responsibility in this work of relief. Nearly always he exercised a close personal supervision over the various institutions which had come into being in response to the need of a people driven, for the second time within less than ten years, from their homes and lands; over the *estia* where for several years milk was distributed daily to thousands of refugee children; the *paidikos stathmos* where infants were cared for during the day; the distribution of clothing, black stuff for cassocks, soap, cocoa, macaroni, beans, sugar, boots and shoes—all the multiplicity of urgently needed supplies with which a host of relief organisations, societies, British and American towns and villages, and private benefactors sought to succour the people of Greece in their distress. [648]

At Siderokastro, for example, the Metropolitan (who as assistant bishop of Salonica was an ardent supporter of the work of the Near East Foundation during the period between the wars), founded a small hospital where poor families could receive free medical attention, as well as a remarkable school of housekeeping for girls of marriageable age. Like all the Macedonian 'despots', the Bishop was president of the local branch of the national relief organisation known as P.I.K.P.A., and supervised the two centres from which milk and cocoa were issued daily to thousands of refugee children from the villages of his diocese. [657] [793]

At Edessa, in western Macedonia, the Metropolitan founded, shortly after the end of the occupation, an orphanage for twenty-five boys. This was originally situated in a house on the outskirts of the town, but during the heavy fighting at Epiphany, 1949—when Naoussa, a few kilometres to the southward, was sacked by the Communists and more than 600 of its inhabitants carried away captive to the mountains —this building was extensively damaged and rendered almost uninhabitable. The Bishop then established his orphans under the care of a monk in a dilapidated Turkish house next to the metropolis, and this was subsequently transformed into a permanent orphanage. Not content with this, the Bishop proceeded to found two further orphanages attached to nearby monasteries, as soon as the district was sufficiently tranquil [669] [792]

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159 to be tilled and seed to be sown and a score of sheep to be cared for,
793 as well as an occasional expedition to Trikkala. Fourteen years slipped by: there were good harvests and bad; once a blight fell on the vineyards and once the bishop rode out from Trikkala and preached in the village church where, since the death of his father, Constantinos Photis had been the chief singer. The people of Palaiochori heard few sermons; they worked and prayed, sinned and repented; danced in the square on warm Sunday afternoons and argued about the doings of the great world beyond the mountains as they sipped their ouzo in the village tavern.

In 1937 the parish priest died. The elders of the village debated the question of a worthy successor—and who more suitable than the carpenter, Constantinos Photis? A man universally respected among his fellows for his uprightness and integrity; who knew the intricacies of the Venetian service-books with a familiarity such as could come only from long experience. Polycarp, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, willingly acquiesced in the village's choice of a pastor, and Constantinos Photis, the carpenter, went off one day to Trikkala (after a short stay in a nearby monastery) and returned clad in black gown and *kalymmafchion* as 'Papa Costas'. Back in Palaiochori, life went on much as before. The village priest now wore a cassock of the same indigo homespun in which he had been clad from infancy. There was the same pattern of feast and fast, of eucharist and office; and though an occasional wedding or funeral now broke the regular rhythm of the carpenter's life and the former *psaltes* had a different liturgy to perform on Sundays and holy days, it was one with whose least detail he had long been familiar. The tools in the workshop were not permitted to rust, and the vegetables and the vines, the twenty sheep and the pigs, needed no less attention now that their owner wore a cassock and addressed his wife as *Papadia*.

159 Early in 1941 the Germans poured into Greece. For many months
793 the mountain villages of Pindos, remote from the lines of communica-
●648 tion, were scarcely affected by the occupation which, even at that period,
722 brought such acute suffering and privation to the townsfolk and to the villages of the plains. As guerrilla activity became increasingly widespread, however, German and Italian troops were employed in a series of reprisal raids upon the undefended villages lying north and south of a road which connects the Thessalian plain with Epirus by way of the Metsovo pass.

One day early in November, 1943, several hundred soldiers descended

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upon Palaiochori. The people fled to the forest and watched helplessly while the invaders set fire to their homes and slaughtered their animals. When at length they withdrew the whole valley was shrouded in smoke: the incendiaries had done their work only too thoroughly. The church of St. Bessarion—the most prominent building in the village—had been amongst the first to be set on fire. When Papa Costas and a few companions ventured down from the mountainside to make a cautious reconnaissance they found nothing save the blackened walls and a great pile of charred timbers. The school, just below the parish church, was likewise completely gutted, and more than forty of the village's seventy-odd houses were irreparably damaged. The parsonage, a somewhat more substantial edifice than most of its neighbours—a monument to the professional skill of its builder—had resisted the first attempts of the incendiaries, and before the flames had thoroughly obtained a hold Papa Costas and his sons had come scrambling down from amongst the trees, and the building—though badly damaged—was not utterly destroyed. Amongst the smoking ruins of another cottage was found the body of an old woman who had been unable to make good her escape. Every animal in the village had been slaughtered.

After this catastrophe the people of Palaiochori took refuge in Kalambaka—already crammed with refugees from a score of similarly stricken villages—and there, in the shadow of the great rocks, they remained until 1945. In January and February of that year they went back to the village that had become a wilderness. During the first few months after their return home there was tremendous activity at the sawmill and in Papa Costas' workshop. No sooner had a sufficient number of cottages been rendered habitable than the parish priest turned his attention to the church. With the assistance of his elder son and a score of willing if unskilled helpers, the requisite timber was cut and shaped; and soon—though the church was without vestments and Papa Costas had with difficulty been able to procure copies of a few of the most indispensable liturgical books—there was at least a roof to the building and it was no longer necessary for the people to stand for long hours without protection against wind and snow whilst the holy mysteries were celebrated. Then the school was re-roofed, and as summer gave place to autumn the regular pattern of village life began to reassert itself—though Papa Costas no longer had twenty sheep and there were no more than three pack-animals available for the whole community.

But security was short-lived. The following year brought wandering

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mean a making—or that the other "Garments and Accoutrements" of the clergy are "very Glorious and different". The widespread devastation of the last few years has left many a village church denuded of its liturgical vestments and other furnishings.

The dioceses of Thrace and eastern Macedonia suffered particularly heavily in this respect at the hands of the Bulgarian bishops and clergy who swarmed into these unhappy provinces in the wake of the German armies. Thus, in the diocese of Alexandroupolis, all the episcopal vestments used by the Metropolitan, the Lord Ioakeim, were stolen by the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Philippopolis; while the cathedral church of St. Nicolas, the church of the Dormition in the Isle of Samothrace, and many village churches, were looted by the Bulgarian clergy. Other dioceses in this part of New Greece suffered no less heavily: the cathedral churches at Siderokastro and Serres (to take two examples at random) being plundered of all their liturgical vestments, as well as the important monasteries of Eikosiphoinisses, in the diocese of Drama, and that of the Prodromos near Serres, to the pillage of which I have already referred.

During the winter of 1949–50, when many of the refugee clergy were returning to their villages after an interval of three years or more, to minister in churches which had been wholly destroyed, or looted and perhaps turned into stables or field-hospitals by the Communists, the Archbishop of Athens appealed to all those parishes of Greece which still possessed anything over and above their essential requirements in liturgical books, vessels, vestments, etc., to come to the aid of those who had been less fortunate than themselves.

The need was great indeed. To the ordinary Greek Christian who worships Sunday by Sunday in his parish church it is but fitting that those who minister in the house of God—which is in truth a heaven upon earth—should be adorned with raiment of a finer and costlier making than suffices for the mere performance of one's daily liturgy, and the absence of the usual accessories of liturgical worship inevitably induces a more acute sense of deprivation than would be felt in similar circumstances by Christians of other traditions.

> In this point [says Dr. Covel] they look askue even upon us English, for not being so Gaudy, Stately and Ceremonious in our Offices as themselves; though we are Episcopally Ordained, and have grave and different Garments for all sorts of our Clergy in their various

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177 row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Simi-
184 larly, in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peas-
369 ants toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain
[243] with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

433 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long,
161 least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost
648 continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to 1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

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slavia and Albania come together, and a Turkish Moslem minority in Thrace. Official figures on the size of these minorities have not been published, but in all probability neither much exceeds 60,000 persons.

Greece is a small country, with a total area of slightly more than 50,000 square miles, or just about the size of the state of Illinois. It is also a poor country, lacking in any very important natural resources, short of fuel, but blessed with a magnificent climate similar to that of southern California. The country is very mountainous. Patches of fertile land, none of them very large, are separated from each other by tangles of barren hill and mountain. The main crops are wheat, grapes, olives, cotton and tobacco; and of these tobacco is by all odds the most important for foreign trade, since all the wheat and nearly all the cotton, wine and olive oil are consumed within the country, leaving only a surplus of tobacco, currants and a few other specialized agricultural products for export.

Industry is comparatively weak. Greek industrial exports have seldom been able to compete in price or quality on world markets. The Greek merchant marine, on the other hand, is one of the important fleets of the world; but many Greek-owned ships are not registered in Greece, and many of the most successful Greek shipowners do not live in the country of their birth. The reason is that Greek taxes on ships and shipowners are heavier than those levied by some other countries, and the shipowners therefore find it expedient to register their ships and take their profits elsewhere. They do, however, often recruit their crews in the home country, and thus offer a source of employment to several thousand Greeks.

Greece fought on the Allied side in both the first and second world wars, suffered German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and became a special British "sphere of influence" in political and military matters during 1944–46. Since

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648 1946, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

648 433 Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

114 This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

241 433 The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades, [369] the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, ac- [162] cording to a special agricultural census, rural families com- prised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total [434] population of the country in that year. Some of these families [464] supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employ- [463] ment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

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large numbers of men to help till his ground for him; a peasant farmer, owning thirty or forty acres, needed comparatively little outside help with his crops. Moreover, as the population of the plains villages grew, farms were subdivided, and there was less and less need of outside labor. Thus the old symbiosis between hill and plain was upset as the plains came to be more densely occupied by a peasant farming population. The hillsmen, whose numbers continued to increase, had to seek new outlets.

The major outlet they discovered was emigration overseas, especially to the United States. This was, in a sense, merely a geographic extension of the familiar pattern of going away from home to seek work. Largely for this reason, many of the Greek emigrants who came to this country – mainly between 1900 and 1924 – arrived with no intention of remaining permanently in their new environment. They hoped instead to make enough money to allow them to go back home to their village, and there buy a house and some land in order to live in the traditional style of their forefathers. Many of course stayed, finding the new life overseas more satisfactory than the old one at home; but many thousands acted upon their original plans and returned. As a result, even today when an American arrives in one of the remoter and more isolated villages of Greece, it is no uncommon thing to be met by some returned migrant who spent the best years of his youth in Chicago or New York, and can produce a few words of broken English to prove it. Richer villages in the plains, on the contrary, seldom sent men overseas. As long as the family enjoyed enough land to be able to live in the simple style to which the Greek peasants were accustomed, there was no compelling motive that would lead a man to undertake such a perilous and expensive venture.

In 1924 the United States established a quota on immigration which virtually stopped the stream of Greek migration to this country. At about the same time, most of the other countries of

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the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecunious peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest development of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their traditional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results. The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and contributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936, when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by launching an ambitious program of public works, especially road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

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669 thoroughly in harmony with the "popular front" tactics inculcated by international Communist policy. When British intervention in 1944 prevented the resistance forces from seizing power in Greece, the rank and file of those who had supported the Communists during the war had little reason to distrust their leaders, since the Communists had not had time or opportunity to carry through the revolution they hoped for.

669 433 As a result, when in 1946 international Communist policy again mobilized the energies of the Greek Communist party to begin a new guerrilla war, Communist organizers found little difficulty in winning the sympathy and support of the same social groups that had participated in the wartime resistance movement. The hill villages were prepared to send their young men into the guerrilla ranks for the same reasons as before. Liberation had not brought prosperity, and without prosperity in the cities and plains, life in the hills was very hard. Hence the Communists found it easy to create guerrilla bands in all the mountainous regions of the country.

In the most obvious sense, both of these recent guerrilla movements failed. Their leaders were killed or driven from the country, and the government remained in other hands. Yet in another sense, it must be recognized that the imprint of the two guerrilla enterprises upon the attitudes of the hill villages of Greece has been deep, and seems likely to last a long time.

Basically, what the Communists achieved was to convince nearly everyone in the villages that the traditional way of living was no longer even to be wished for and striven after. Instead, they held out fascinating and quite unrealizable dreams of bathtubs and electric refrigerators for all. Or rather, they held this out as an ultimate goal, and offered in the more immediate future a life of activity, violence and dedication — a life that at least seemed to have significance and purpose and hope. These were just what the average young man or woman

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cally disaffected class, there emerges a formidable grouping of unstable and potentially revolutionary elements in present-day Greek society. The more conservative groups – farmers of the plains villages, shopkeepers, traders and property owners in the towns, and the handful of rich shipowners and other large capitalists – certainly outweigh the dissidents in normal times. But times have seldom been normal in recent Greek history, and the balance of forces has not uniformly inclined in favor of the established social order.

Public Life in 1947

The winter and spring of 1946–47 were months when the balance turned strongly against conservatism. As a matter of fact, Greece seemed then to teeter on the verge of Communist revolution. The Greek Communist party, acting in concert with the Communist governments and parties of neighboring countries to the north, and with the approval or perhaps under the instructions of the Russians, began to raise guerrilla bands in the mountains of Greece in the summer of 1946. Organizers met with rather quick response in many hill villages, where the young men and boys were stewing in their discontent and welcomed the high hopes held out to them by Communist promises. The national army was quite unable to check the spread of the guerrilla movement. For one thing, morale was uncertain. Many soldiers felt strong distaste for fighting fellow Greeks. When sallies were made from strong points which the army had constructed, the guerrillas simply melted away, only to reappear a few days later somewhere else, soon to return to the same district as before.

The morale of the government was equally uncertain. Communist lands were very near; Britain was embarrassed by financial difficulties; the United States was far away. No one was

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669 sure that aid would come, or if it came that it would arrive soon
● 648 enough and in large enough quantity to turn the tide. Yet for-
433 eign aid was clearly needed if the Communist guerrillas were to be stopped. Without it, the government could scarcely hope to maintain its army for long. More than that, the fabric of the civil economy could not stand by itself, especially when guerrilla raids and road mines made transport and communication unsafe.

727 Apart from the military and diplomatic aspects, there was
648 another and more fundamental sense in which the morale of the government and of the conservative classes was damaged. The general ideas and presuppositions of the non-Communist politicians and their supporters were badly shaken by the course of events in the immediate postwar period. Their general assumption had been that once the Germans had withdrawn and a transition period of special emergency had been passed through, then the society and economy of Greece would return of themselves to something like stability and the prewar pattern. Yet now the Germans had departed, UNRRA had come and gone (save for a small rear guard), and still there was no stability and no security. Far less was there any prospect of prosperity.

The upheaval of the war years had in fact been too drastic to permit any automatic return to normal. But the political lead-
[661] ers of the country, all of whom had grown up in a world where government economic policy and administration were conceived in terms of doing favors for one's friends and withholding them from one's opponents, had no idea how to cope with the disturbed and unhappy society entrusted to their guidance. No idea, that is, except to ask for help from Britain or the United States.

[665] The politicians could scarcely be accused of not having done their part to bring things back to normal. During the brief res-

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pite between the time when British troops had suppressed the wartime guerrilla army in December 1944, and the resumption of the guerrilla war in the summer of 1946, the politicians resumed the prewar game of politics with an exemplary faithfulness to old customs and methods. Two of the principal figures of Greek politics, Sophocles Venizelos and Constantine Tsaldaris, carried family names that had been illustrious in the twenties and thirties, and owed their leadership more to their names than to any personal attributes. Quarrels between royalists and republicans, which dated back to the first world war, remained the principal line of demarcation between rival groups of politicians; and demands for territorial expansion at the expense of the defeated powers – primarily Bulgaria – remained a major stock-in-trade of political oratory, and the best antidote the political leaders could find for the discontent and unrest of the nation. This, after all, had been the dominant theme in the career of the great Eleftherios Venizelos, who had almost doubled Greek territory between 1912 and 1919, and even for a dizzy moment seemed to have the old Byzantine capital of Constantinople within his grasp. And how could any politician hope to improve on Venizelist models?

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Fame and fortune had always been the stuff and substance of a political career; special favors to friends and supporters had always been the means by which power was sustained; parties had always been fragile coalitions of ambitious public men who combined for a longer or shorter time under the leadership of one of their number, only to scatter and re-form in some new constellation when the restless striving for place and position dictated a change.

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To be sure, even before the war, extensive social legislation had been enacted, and the idea that the government was somehow responsible for maintaining the welfare of the population at large was not unknown. But such measures were conceived

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665 whom to fight, and a hope for the future. None of the old-line
727 political parties or leaders could do any of these things nearly so effectively.

665 Only the inner circle of the Greek Communist party was di-
669 rectly affected by the very real fissure between what may be called "home grown" and "Russian" Communists. The rank and file of party members and sympathizers were perhaps scarcely aware of any such tensions, and accepted without any special notice the transfer of authority over the Greek Communist party from the hands of George Siantos, who had led it during the war years, to those of Nicholas Zachariades, who had spent the war in a German concentration camp. Yet this shift, accomplished in May 1945, represented the assertion of control by leaders trained and directed by Moscow, as against the more independent "home grown" leadership which Siantos had embodied.

In any case, this fissure was only of potential importance. If Russian policy should diverge seriously from lines acceptable to "home grown" Communists, then the factions in the Greek Communist party might be expected to come into the open. So long as no such divergence appeared – and in 1946 and 1947 it did not – the only consequence was to elevate some persons to positions of authority in the party and to blight the careers of others who had thrown in their lot with the defeated side.

665 Hence, in 1946 and 1947 the advantages enjoyed by the Greek
669 Communist party in competition with its rivals were actual, its
● 648 weaknesses only potential. This was true not only within the
727 country, but internationally as well. The Communist countries to the north began actively assisting the Greek Communist bands, sending arms and ammunition, allowing hard-pressed units to find refuge across the border, and providing hospital and other services to them as far as geographical difficulties permitted. On the other hand, British military and economic

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support for the Greek government was about to be withdrawn, and it was not yet clear that American support would be forthcoming to replace the British. Under the circumstances it is not strange that the Communists went from strength to strength, while their opponents were filled with foreboding for the future.

To be sure, the Communists faced one great obstacle. Their opponents were still in full control of the administrative machine of government. The pattern so successfully followed in eastern European countries which fell within the Russian sphere of influence, whereby Communists first acquired a toehold in the administration and then used their position to push all rivals out, could scarcely be employed in Greece. The police, army and civil bureaucracy were all firmly in anti-Communist hands. British armed intervention in 1944 had been necessary to secure this state of affairs, but it was confirmed by elections held in 1946; and the new aggressiveness of international Communist policies did not permit patient waiting until some future election might lead to a coalition including Communist ministers.

Yet the effectiveness of these instruments of power was sadly blunted in Greece. In the countryside the police were too few to resist concerted attack by guerrilla bands. The army was numerous enough, but the morale of the soldiers made offensive actions against the guerrillas difficult and largely ineffective. The civil bureaucracy was distinguished by its clumsiness and occasional corruption. Efforts to prevent corruption led to excessive centralization, so that even simple decisions had constantly to be referred to Athens, and not infrequently to a cabinet member, before action could be taken. The nomarchs, the principal local officials in the provinces, characteristically spent more time in Athens, haunting the central offices of the government in hope of getting needed decisions, money or supplies, than they did in the districts assigned to them. Incidentally, of course, they could thereby consolidate personal rela-

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Under the circumstances, then, nothing like an efficient administration confronted the Communist challenge. Private citizens, who were unable to get satisfaction from officials, even when they knew their claims were right and just, were not encouraged to feel any special loyalty to the regime; and a government which was able to do so little to remedy the general disorganization of economic and social life gave color to the Communists' claim that they and they alone could solve the country's problems. 647 727 433

There were, nevertheless, some persons who were attempting to devise plans for the economic and social stabilization of the country. Some held government positions, some were unemployed or semi-employed engineers and the like. Perhaps the most influential circle was that associated with the UNRRA Mission to Greece, which, in addition to delivering relief supplies to the country, had attempted to rehabilitate the nation as well. The time and the funds allocated to UNRRA proved grossly inadequate to rehabilitate Greece, but studies and plans made by UNRRA, to discover what could and should be done to put the country back on its feet, had at least the virtue of turning some men's minds to the long-term problem. Some of these plans, and some of the personnel that helped draw them up, later played a part in the United States aid program. 185 727 433 648

Apart from this historical connection, one can say that even in the darkest days of 1947, when Communist victory seemed far from improbable, there did exist on the fringes of Greek official life a small number of persons who had begun to think in terms that might effectively meet the Communist challenge. Planners and statisticians, engineers and economists – men who conceived the task of the government to include efforts to shape economic and social development in such a fashion as to relieve the poverty of the nation – did exist. They were, however, far removed from the real centers of power and authority in the 185 727 433 669

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government. Unassisted, they would certainly not have been able to do anything effective to overcome the Communist menace.

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To sum up: The nature of Greek society and the shortcomings of the Greek government, together with the constellation of international relations in 1946 and 1947, made Communist revolution possible, indeed probable. But the injection of a massive new force, United States aid, changed the direction of events and prevented that consummation. The activity of the American aid missions will therefore be the subject of the next chapter.

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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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The Political Cosmos

However real the changes which had come in the senior ranks of the civil service and in local government, it remained true that plans for economic development and for most local improvements depended ultimately upon cabinet ministers who held office as politicians and not as economic or any other sort of technicians. Cabinet ministers in turn held their high positions at the pleasure of parliamentary deputies, whose votes depended partly on party affiliations, partly on personal ambition, and partly on calculations of the state of opinion among the electorate.

As in other countries where a managerial bureaucracy does not enjoy unchallenged control of the governmental machine, the issues that have most excited the politicians and the public in Greece have not been questions of economic policy and priority. Everyone is in favor of economic development, everyone is against inflation; everyone is in favor of better salaries and pensions, and everyone is against an unbalanced budget. In other words, political debate is not carried on in responsible economic terms, and a government in office always finds it impossible to live up to wild promises its leaders made in campaign speeches.

This sort of irresponsibility is by no means peculiar to Greece. Most politicians in democratic countries, not least in the United States, behave very similarly. What lends the Greek political world its peculiar character is the nature of the political parties and the irredentist tradition of Greek nationalism.

Political parties in Greece (with the exception of the Communist party) formed in the past around the person of a political leader rather than around a program or around local political machines. The system worked effectively only when an unusually gifted individual appeared on the scene, who, by the

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665 ciency, since the more voices that have to reach agreement
645 upon any policy, the more difficult it is to decide anything.
662 Hence the size of Greek cabinets has fluctuated very markedly since World War II, from over twenty-five to less than fifteen members. But even when a cabinet was made unwieldy by the effort to include as many potential supporters as possible, there were always more disappointed than successful candidates; and to such discontented persons it was a standing temptation to break party lines and vote the government down in the Chamber of Deputies on any convenient issue. In the ensuing cabinet reshuffle they might always hope to do better, having proved their indispensability to the government by unseating it.

665 Second, the opposition was always in the position of being
666 able to criticize without suggesting specific and practicable alternatives. It was easy to denounce half measures, to attack policies limited by the availability of money or of physical resources, to criticize the gaps between promises and actual achievements. The fact that much of what was thus attacked could not have been done much differently by anyone in power made little difference, since the opposition was not seriously concerned with what could or could not be done. Most politicians out of office were inclined to feel that any stick with which to beat the government, even a rotten one, was better than silence, so long as the stick hurt.

[663] The irrelevance of much of the language of political debate to the real, underlying problems of Greek society was easy to criticize from the outside. Yet a sober technical discussion of what the government could and should accomplish, of relative priority among the many desirable projects, and of long-range policies calculated to relieve overpopulation and underemployment lacked all political appeal.

471 The difficulty was that Greece faced a formidable political-
457 psychological problem. If large-scale investment on the basis
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of local resources were to occur, then restriction of current consumption would be necessary. Money and goods would have to be diverted from consumption to capital construction. Without such diversion, the country was condemned to chronic poverty, unless foreign investment and financing came to the rescue. Up to 1956 Greece had indeed depended upon foreign investment for its capital development; but the United States Congress could scarcely be counted upon to continue its support indefinitely. In fact, between 1954 and 1956 it became clear that American aid to Greece was to be shaped by more narrowly conceived American interests, which would mean that military subsidy and the disposal of surplus American agricultural products would take precedence over industrial or any other sort of capital investment in Greece. Moreover, a Greek government that depended upon American bounty would necessarily surrender a large portion of its effective sovereignty, as happened between 1947 and 1952. Such a policy would expose Greek authorities to charges of acting as craven "yes men" to the Americans, and of betraying Greek national interests, as, for instance, in Cyprus.

Dependence upon foreign funds to finance capital development was therefore a poor substitute for financing such development from local resources. Yet no one in Greece wanted to reduce and few wished to restrict the standard of living. The general public was impatient of austerity and wanted an immediate and miraculous increase in consumption levels. The chronic disbalance of the governmental budget reflected (among other factors) the pressure of these demands – demands for higher pensions and salaries, for better unemployment, medical and old-age benefits, and the like. To offer present hardship in the hope of future amelioration of economic conditions was therefore politically unthinkable, even though this was the only program that could really cope with the prob-

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It could almost be said that the Americans, having failed to alter the political pattern of Greece by direct intervention in 1950 and 1951, succeeded in short-circuiting the political process by dealing directly with the rising group of civil servants whose general outlook and whose personal positions in the hierarchy of administration had been profoundly influenced by the aid mission itself. This provided, temporarily at least, a workable substitute for responsible self-government; but it was an essentially fragile structure, depending both on the continuance of American grants to Greece and upon the acquiescence of the politicians.

Signs were not wanting in 1956 that the acquiescence of the politicians could not always be depended upon. Neutralism as between the Soviet Union and the United States had a few public advocates, and several newspapers systematically played up incidents that reflected discredit upon American personnel. There were also repeated newspaper attacks upon the privileged status American officials enjoyed. In the fall of 1955 popular demonstrations of sympathy for the Cypriotes in Athens, Salonika and Patras took a rather violent anti-American turn, including the stoning of American official buildings. Wherever I went in 1956 the inevitable question was put: Why does the United States not live up to its principles and support Greek claims in Cyprus?

In this indirect fashion, the Cyprus question allowed public expression of restiveness against American influence in Greece to assume a politically respectable, i.e., non-Communist, form. Part, though by no means a major part, of the emotional energy behind the Cyprus agitation in Greece reflected resentment against the American leading strings which had controlled Greece so thoroughly for nearly ten years.

Because the Cyprus question offered release for many diverse frustrations and grievances, it attained extraordinary proportions. All other political issues were in almost total eclipse in

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• 648 668 the summer of 1956. The opposition belabored the government for failing to free the Cypriotes; the government swore that no effort had been spared; and each side rivaled the other in denouncing the stubbornness of Britain, the meddling of Turkey and the indifference of the United States. Events in Cyprus, where nearly every day people were killed as a result of the guerrilla operations of an organization known by the initials EOKA (Ethniki Organosis Kypriakou Agonos, or National Organization of Cypriote Fighters), occupied the most prominent place in every newspaper, and speeches or statements about the Cyprus question filled an amazing proportion of the space that remained. Nothing else seemed to matter very much; [521] and this attitude was not confined to newspapers. No conversation could long continue before the Cyprus question came up, and even very casual contacts between a Greek and an American were likely to produce an impassioned plea for Cyprus, together with reproaches against the United States government for failing to act in the matter.

From the point of view of someone interested in confronting and trying to relieve the economic and social difficulties of contemporary Greece, the Cyprus question was bound to appear totally irrelevant. If the Cypriotes were accorded the right to determine their own form of government, and if, as seemed overwhelmingly probable, the majority of the island's inhabitants then elected to unite with Greece, nothing would be helped so far as Greece's own problems were concerned. Yet by 1956 the liberation of Cyprus had become the very stuff and substance of Greek political debate. A more effective red herring would be difficult to imagine.

From the point of view of the Greek public, however, the Cypriote cause was sacred, and far more worthy of attention than merely economic questions. This attitude was deeply rooted in the political tradition of the nation. Indeed, the whole

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career of modern Greece, since the days when a small segment of the peninsula first won independence from the Turks, has been punctuated by recurrent bouts of intense popular excitement over the liberation of one or another portion of the Greek-speaking world that still remained under foreign sovereignty. In spite of costly failures, this agitation, and actions in accord with it, sooner or later added the Ionian Islands, Thessaly, Crete, Macedonia, the easterly Aegean Islands and part of Thrace to the Greek state. So successful has the nationalist program been that by 1956 Cyprus remained the only important area where a large Greek-speaking majority lived under foreign rule. The Greeks, therefore, felt entirely justified in demanding that such an anomaly end.

Anyone who takes democratic doctrines seriously must agree that the Greek case in Cyprus was a good one, since about 80 per cent of the islanders speak Greek and have given strong evidences of identification with Greece in recent years. Nor has the social and economic level of the Cypriotes been such as to justify a denial of self-government. Hence the Greeks of Greece had a good cause, and felt that the indifference of the United States to the issue, and the refusal of Britain to agree to grant self-government to Cyprus, represented a repudiation of their democratic professions. The burning conviction that the great powers were in the wrong and that the Greeks were in the right added fuel to the agitation, while Turkey's intervention in the question had the effect of opening once again all the wounds inflicted by past warfare between the two peoples.

On two occasions in the past, war with the Turks resulted from the desire of Greeks to liberate their fellow nationals, and on several other occasions war was narrowly averted by the intervention of the great powers. These wars and war scares cost Greece dearly in the past. One of the reasons for the failure of the economy to develop more rapidly was the financial bur-

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den the government incurred as a result of these enterprises; and the complete catastrophe which came to the Hellenic communities of Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, following the failure of the Greek effort to annex part of the eastern Aegean coast, left marks upon the Greek body social which are still conspicuous. Yet then, as more recently in the case of Cyprus, counsels of caution or calculations of expediency scarcely found a hearing. The warm feeling of patriotism, all the warmer for being so reckless of consequences, overcame and continued to overcome every obstacle.

The Cyprus question became acute in the spring of 1955 when EOKA began issuing manifestoes and throwing bombs in the island, demanding self-determination and the end of colonial administration. Whether, or in what degree, the Greek government was an accomplice in provoking EOKA to action is impossible to say. Clandestine support of irregular armed action against a foreign government is an old tradition in the Balkans. The Greek government was itself attacked in this indirect fashion by Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania during the guerrilla war; and all the Christian nations of the Balkans used similar methods against the Turks. The fact that the leader of EOKA was reputed to be Colonel George Grivas, a man who had once served in the Greek army, and who had been the head of an extra-legal rightist armed band in the years just after the end of World War II, suggested, but by no means proved, that agents of the Greek government may have had a hand in organizing the guerrillas in Cyprus.

If so (and this is not a proven fact), it seemed fairly clear that in the months that followed EOKA's appearance in Cyprus agitation in Greece grew to proportions that the government had not expected, and did not really desire. To have an issue upon which all Greeks could unite behind a government that

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boldly demanded justice for the Cypriotes was one thing; to have an issue that threatened to disrupt the NATO alliance in the eastern Mediterranean and gave the opposition a chance to attack the government for its inability to bring the situation to a satisfactory conclusion was quite another. Yet it was this second, embarrassing position into which the Greek government soon fell. The British refused to give in; and during the summer of 1955 the Turks began to assert their own interest in the fate of Cyprus.

Greece and Turkey had both been admitted to NATO in the fall of 1951, and in 1954 Greece had also concluded an alliance with Yugoslavia. This laboriously constructed diplomatic and military bulwark, within which Greece might hope to shelter as securely as any nation could that stood on the frontier between the Communist and non-Communist worlds, now began to crumble; and by 1956, although the treaties remained nominally in existence, the ill feeling between Greeks and Turks had reached a pitch that made real cooperation impossible. Joint naval maneuvers had to be called off, and acute difficulties arose in the NATO headquarters at Smyrna, where Greek and Turkish officers had been working side by side.

As this situation developed, the Greek government became seriously embarrassed. On the one hand, it could not allow the opposition to flaunt the garb of patriotism without challenge. The publicity agencies of the government and the Athens radio thereupon indulged in a veritable orgy of rhetoric which could not fail to have an inflammatory effect in Cyprus and also at home in Greece. On the other hand, rumor had it that the royal palace and the Foreign Office urged caution and moderation — a spirit which, however carefully it was kept under cover, still gave the opposition a chance to denounce the halfheartedness and secret duplicity of the government.

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• 648 668 Through 1956 at least, the Greeks had spilled nothing more precious than words over Cyprus. The economic programs of the government had not been affected, nor had the social realities of Greece been touched. What had changed were Greek relations with Turkey and Britain; and in 1956 it was hard to see how the resultant damage to the NATO alliance could be repaired. A change in British policy might bring the Cypriotes self-determination and union with Greece – an upshot that would gratify the Greeks, but scarcely improve relations between Greece and Turkey. On the contrary, such an eventuality might well be accompanied by open violence between Turks and Greeks on Cyprus itself, where the Turkish minority constitutes about 20 per cent of the population; and similar and more dangerous disorders might spread into Turkish and Greek Thrace, where the two peoples remain mingled owing to the exclusion of this area from the exchange of populations that followed World War I.

The embitterment of Greek-Turkish relations seemed likely to endure for a long time, to the embarrassment of the Americans who wished to remain in alliance with both sides of the quarrel. It was, of course, because American diplomats dreaded such difficulties, and did not wish to antagonize the British, that the official policy of the United States remained so much aloof from the Cyprus question in 1955 and 1956.

Whatever the eventual outcome may be, it seems clear that the excitement over Cyprus had the effect not only of distracting attention from home policy, but also of weakening the Greek cabinet and restricting its freedom of maneuver. Feeling was directed most strongly against the Turks, secondly against the British, and more faintly but still definitely against the Americans. The emotional involvement with Cyprus was so strong that in the summer of 1956 it did not seem beyond the bounds of possibility that some turn of events in Cyprus might

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bring about the overthrow of the Karamanlis government and the installation of a cabinet far less inclined to cleave to the western alliance system of NATO in foreign affairs, and far less amenable to American advice concerning home policy.

What the effect of such a change might be upon the development of the economy, or upon the civil servants who were so busily planning its growth, cannot be forecast. My point merely is this: that the divorce between the realm of political discourse in Greece and the real problems of economic and social melioration within the nation is so wide as to be dangerous. Some economically ruinous action, rising from feelings of outraged nationalism, and provoked by politicians who hope to win place and prestige by risking everything on a politico-military gamble, may damage much of what has already been accomplished, or postpone indefinitely the realization of plans which have been laid for future economic expansion.

There are here the makings of a vicious circle. The major cause of the characteristic irresponsibility and extremism of Greek politics in recent decades, I am convinced, has been the chronic discontents and personal frustrations which tens of thousands of white-collar and professional people have felt. For them, politics offers a psychological release from daily difficulty and disappointment. To act as an adequate catharsis, political argument must be exciting, indeed inflammatory. The politicians therefore offer excitement, and when they cannot find it they try to manufacture it. If no internal foe seems sufficiently evil, then attacks are turned against some foreign antagonist. Political instability and changeability are the result, and when words boil over into actions real economic setbacks often follow – setbacks that feed the chronic discontent behind the political manifestations themselves.

Much of the domestic history of modern Greece can be interpreted as the result of such a vicious circle in action. The re-

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and then destroy the parliamentary machinery and civil liberty in favor of Communist dictatorship.

In 1956 these things were not apparent. Communism was not an issue; Cyprus had replaced it, and the Communist party had officially endorsed the Cyprus struggle over the radio. No one admitted to being a Communist, since to do so would have been a short way to jail. The people seemed quite genuinely glad to be relieved of the long preoccupation with the Communist question, and to find a cause upon which everyone could unite. This was, indeed, one of the reasons why Cyprus was such a heart-warming cause for the Greeks. Everyone, no matter what his opinions on domestic issues, was behind the Cypriotes. The Greeks had not known what it was to be united on an important public issue since the time of the Albanian war in 1940. Yet if Communists and nationalists were to quarrel in Cyprus, a possibility of which there were already some convincing signs in the summer of 1956, then the Communist question would emerge again in Greece with new bitterness, as each side sought to blame the other for the disruption of the Cypriote struggle.

In any analysis such as this it is easy to overemphasize the instability and insecurity of Greek political affairs. Certainly Greek politics are unstable, and the parliamentary regime in Greece is insecure. But it is well to remember that these conditions are not new. Exactly the same could be said of the political scene at any time since 1909, when the current phase of modern Greek political life began. The Greeks have learned to live with such conditions, and even manage to derive lively exhilaration from the perpetual uncertainty of their politics. Without politics, what would there be to talk about in the cafés?

The things that are new in Greek public life attract little public attention. The man in the street and in the village coffee

8:Stephanides--2 I, Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1
Megali Vrisi

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A SOCIOLOGICAL SKETCH OF THE VILLAGE OF MEGALI VRISI.

PART I.

Introduction:

The author was born in Turkey on the shores of the Black Sea. His parents were the descendants of some of the first colonists that were established by the Greeks in ancient times. His ancestors lived in the same village for many centuries and it was for the first time in many centuries that he went with the rest of his people to Greece. The exchange of population between Greece and Turkey marks one of the rare historical accomplishments of the Greek people. The establishment of a million and a half people under the prevailing economic conditions of that period was a gigantic job for a small nation like Greece to accomplish.

The author, as a refugee among his people, had a chance, after getting his education at Cornell, to work with them to share with them the difficulties they met in their new environment. He shared the life that was mixed with tears, toil, sweat and patience. He also shared the marriages, the holidays and the dances at the village square. His eight years of experience in the village of Megali Vrisi and his share in promoting agricultural, recreational, health and educational activities led him to the description of the village of /4/ Megali Vrisi

The Rural Sociology Courses under Dr. Sanderson have influenced him more than anything else to see, describe and evaluate the social make up of the life of the people of Megali Vrisi.

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Boundaries and Neighborhoods of the village. 621

Megali Vrisi itself falls into six neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are on the basis of kinship relationships. There are two in the Thracian section and four in the Caucasian section. The village has nearby villages such as Metallikon, South East 1 1/2 miles, Vaptistis, South West 1 3/4 miles, Castanies, 2 miles North West, and North East is Stayrohori, 1 1/2 miles. There is a hard-surfaced road which connects all these villages to Megali Vrisi. 628 361 491

A people of the Soil and their Mobility for the last 25 Years. 167 722

In spite of the fact that the people of Megali Vrisi are a people of the soil, yet some of them were the victims of the great destructive waves of war. The Caucasians were rather stable in their own country, and this forced movement, due to communism, was the first of its kind in their lives for many generations. The un-/11/fortunate Thracians, because of their position in the much fought Balkan states, had to move very regularly from their village. I was often told that this was the fourth village they were building in less than 14 years, due to the Greco-Turkish war, the Greco-Bulgarian war, the first world war and the war of 1920 between Turkey and Greece. After the end of each war the survivors would return back to their village from their place of exile. One could almost read in their faces the effect of the hardships they had been through. The effect is noticed by the type of life they developed which has already become a part of their whole philosophy of living in this world. Small temporary houses--not much furniture, no mattresses, a straw mat and two heavy hand woven blankets for cover--a kettle to cook in, one common bowl for the whole family to eat in, one suit of clothes and few implements. In case of forced movement the wife and the husband are able to carry everything they have on their backs. Usually mobility makes a person cosmopolitan-minded and good mannered, but it had the opposite effect on these people. This may be due to the conditions under which they had to move. [648] 511 167

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples
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342 selves in the valleys of the Danube, found both troglodyte and sur-
SL face dwellings in use among the previous inhabitants of these areas,
[342] i.e. the Thracians, from whom Roumanians of Vlachia and Moldavia, and Albanians of the Skodra lake area took over these huts, called bordeiu (1).

B More specially the Bulgars, who in their ancient home were living
[361] a nomad life, had no permanent houses. They lived just as the rest of Turanian peoples, in tents they put up in places where they could find pastures for their herds; when the pastures were exhausted, camps were dissolved and the tents carried with the nomads.

B When, under the leadership of Asparuch, Bulgars established a
175 strong base in the Delta of the Danube and when, using this strong-
648 hold as a base, they occupied all the area between this river and the
361 Balkan mountains, only then began the Bulgars to know the ad-
G vantages of permanent installation. For a long time, however, they
175 were wild fighters and lived on the peoples they subjugated, the old
● 648 Thracians, who had been hellenised, or latinised, and the other Greeks and Slavs who had established themselves in those areas during the previous century (2). These Slavs, according to Procopius (3) and to
SL the Biography of Saint Demetrius (4), knew only how to build (5)
[342] «miserable huts» or «tents» besides the underground shelters mentioned above. The thousands of Greek prisoners who were kid-
B napped during the Bulgarian invasions were «drafted» into the in-
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1) According to **Fr. Nopcsa,** Albanien, 1925, p. 11 these underground dwellings of Roumania and Bulgaria represent the immediate descendants of the pre-historic and Roman housings of the Haimos peninsula. The writings on the tiles found in pre-historic dwellings have a Thracian character. Remains of Thracian tribes have been found despite the Illyric over-layer, both, in the Skodra lake and in Dardania. Dobroutcha has always been a Thracian area.

2) **D. Zakythinos,** Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Athens, 1945, p. 27 «The permanent installation of Slav tribes in the Balkan peninsula begins only during the first years of the 7th Century».

3) **Procop.** De bello Gotth. 3, 14: Οἰκοῦσι δὲ (Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄνται) ἐν καλύβαις οἰκήσεως διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον.

4) **A. Tougard,** De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des bollandistes. Paris 1874, p. 184, 190.

5) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. 2, p. 98, «it is easily understood that the Slavs used to build, besides the underground shelters (abris) which were covered by an additional wooden roof, light huts without any trenches on the model of the «koliba», built by the shepherds of the Karpathians and the Balkans, made of inter-woven branches of trees».

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

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vader's country(1) and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century(2). But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

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1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1246-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40.000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50.000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (**W. Slatarski,** Geschichte der Bulgaren, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15,29). According to the Bulgarian historian **Ivan Sakazov** (Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 57 foll.) «Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendents.» Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitsis or Skyloyiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20.000 prisoners together with 3.000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See **Diog. Xanalatos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην, Α' Athens 1914 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. **K. Paparrigopoulos,** Ἱστορ. Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5, a 23. **K. Amandos,** Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους Α' 1939 p. 411. Β' 1947, pp 5, 173, 426. Οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1923 p. 26 and 40 **Ant. Keramopoullos** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. **G. A. Megas,** Ἀδριανούπολις ἡ πολυαφουσεμένη in the periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 112. **C. Jirecek** says that: «Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king». Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinos, 1, 144, edit. Bonn.

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According to the Bulgarian historian **I. Sakazov,** op cit. p. 41, «The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

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But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov,** op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

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1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali,** Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη. Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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munists by raising popular fears that a Soviet-dominated régime might partition Greece.

To add one more convolution to the involved situation, a strong element among the Greek Communists had always hoped to bring Communist Greece into a federation of East European Communist states—precisely the sort of federation which Russia was determined never to tolerate lest it limit her own control of the area.[3] By something more than a coincidence, the announcement that a "Free Greek Government" was to be established by the Greek Communists had occurred at about the same time that Tito and Dimitrov were meeting at Bled; and it also is significant that when such a government actually was set up in December 1947, with General Markos Vafiades as a principal leader, it was not accorded recognition by the Soviet Union or any of the satellites. Whether other satellite leaders were involved in the project, Gomulka in Poland, for example, or Clementis in Czechoslovakia, is not known. But the signs that Markos was suspect in Moscow from then on are unmistakable.

Tito's expulsion from the Cominform faced Soviet policy-makers with a hard choice in Greece. Tito had been an indispensable middleman in transporting Soviet help to the Greek rebels and their most active supporter on his own account. Soviet military equipment and arms went to the rebel bands over Jugoslav railways and Jugoslav food and uniforms nourished and clothed them. When the mountain fighters found themselves in a tight corner the Jugoslav frontiers always were open to them, their wounded were succored and cared for in Jugoslav hospitals, reënforcements were trained in Jugoslav camps and the Greek children whom they evacuated (or kidnapped) on their retreats found homes in Jugoslav institutions. Neither of Greece's other satellite neighbors, Bulgaria and Albania, was so well situated geographically to provide this help. Besides, all Greeks, including Communists, had hateful memories of wartime experiences in Albania and under the Bulgarian occupation of Greek Macedonia; and these memories would not down despite the ideological affinities existing between the Greek guerrillas and the Com-

[3] *Pravda* in January 1948 condemned the idea of a "Balkan or Danubian federation including Poland, Czechoslovakia *and Greece*" (my italics) and forced Dimitrov to disown it (*cf.* Chapter XVII).

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tinued for a time to provide asylum for Markos' men and care for his wounded, and when the rebel radio was forced out of Greece they allowed it to function temporarily near Belgrade. A report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, published August 25, 1949, covering the period October 1948-July 1949, confirmed the fact of this Jugoslav help to the guerrillas and noted that direction-finder tests had established the eventual transfer of the rebel radio from Belgrade to the vicinity of Bucharest. According to M. S. Handler, the well-informed correspondent of *The New York Times* in Belgrade, all forms of Jugoslav assistance actually ceased as early as November 1948, only four months after Jugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform. If so, this would indicate that Tito had already heard that Markos was supplanted and would be the scapegoat for the rebel débâcle now in the cards.

The next Soviet move was to try to place the blame for this débâcle on Jugoslavia by attributing it to the cessation of Jugoslav aid and by attributing that, in turn, not to the Cominform attack on Jugoslavia, in which the new Communist leadership in Greece was participating, but to Jugoslavia's alleged shift to "the Western imperialist camp" and hence into secret alliance with the "Monarcho-Fascist" Greek Government. Tito retaliated by telling a Macedonian audience on August 2, 1949, that the Greek people's struggle for "social and national liberation, for the creation of a better, more progressive democratic Greece," had been stifled and defeated, not by their enemies abroad but by their own leaders in the Greek Communist Party, whose only interest was to make out that the responsibility for their colossal failure did not rest on the Soviets, where it belonged, but on Jugoslavia.

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By 1950 Tito was ready to normalize relations with the constitutional government of Greece. The opportunity for doing so without loss of face seemed to come when the Greek elections resulted in the formation of a Center coalition government under General Plastiras. Constantin Tsaldaris, the man always cited in Jugoslavia as the incarnation of Greek "Monarcho-Fascism," was not included. A Jugoslav ambassador was dispatched to Athens in May, but the Greek Government kept him waiting to present his credentials, and soon

an argument arose as to the treatment of the non-Greeks in Greek Macedonia. According to the Jugoslav press they were being subjected to a policy of "nationalization," meaning apparently that they were not allowed to use the Macedonian Slav dialect but only Greek. The Greek reply was that this was an exclusively internal Greek affair, all inhabitants of Greek Macedonia being Greek citizens since the exchange of populations with Bulgaria following the First World War. The Jugoslav Ambassador-designate thereupon returned to Belgrade. In a dispatch datelined Belgrade, June 24, 1950, Gaston Coblentz, Balkan correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune*, pointed out that Tito was having trouble keeping his Macedonian population as happy as a dictator's subjects are supposed to be, and that advocacy of minority rights in Greek Macedonia was designed to fortify the loyalty of his own Macedonians and encourage them to resist Cominform propaganda.

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Western diplomats hoped that the failure to establish normal relations between Athens and Belgrade might be only temporary. The fall of the Plastiras cabinet and the formation in September 1950 of a government under Sophocles Venizelos, supported by Tsaldaris, did not strengthen the hope; neither did the Jugoslav vote in the Security Council in favor of a Soviet motion to investigate "increasing terrorism" in Greece. On the other hand, one main issue between the two nations, the return of Greek children who (as the Greeks put it) had been abducted by the Greek guerrillas and detained in Jugoslavia, or who (as the Jugoslavs put it) were given a refuge in Jugoslavia from their Fascist persecutors, seemed to advance a step toward settlement with word that Tito was willing to send back all children whose families asked it. Shortly afterwards Prime Minister Venizelos made a conciliatory move by announcing that emergency shipments of supplies to alleviate the Jugoslav drought would be permitted to pass through the port of Salonika. The next step would be to repair and reopen the Belgrade-Salonika railway, closed since the war. In their own selfish interests the two governments should make urgent efforts to reach at least a modus vivendi. Only Moscow profits from the continuance of a situation in which if Soviet armies enter the Balkans the Jugoslavs would not have a back door through which to receive Western war materials and the Greeks would be as exposed to the new invaders as they were to the Nazis.

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It was a bitter decision for the Russians to end the Greek civil war, but they saw the risks of any other course. One factor was the growing strength of the Greek Army. Following accepted international practice, the United States had supplied the legal Greek Government with arms. As a result, the armies taking the field in 1949 were well equipped and had good morale. Another influential factor was that the United Nations Commission had kept world opinion posted about the aid reaching the rebels from Communist sources abroad. Thirdly, now that Jugoslav railways could no longer be used, the best overland line for Soviet shipments via Bulgaria was cut. In future, Russian help could not be so easily disguised, would involve Soviet prestige directly and hence if supplied at all would have to be supplied on a scale to be decisive. This would amount to open intervention and involved the risk of general war.

In the spring of 1949 the Communist and fellow-traveller press of the world had still been talking bravely of certain victory for the Greek "democrats." "The Monarchists could never repeat the scale of their offensive in Grammos last summer," and "this year will mark the turning point in the task of liberating Greece." [5] But after General Papagos's victories at Vitsi and Grammos that summer the Russian decision to liquidate the civil war became final. On October 9 the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party accepted defeat. It held that the hopes of the year before had been correct, "under the conditions when the Tito clique had not yet openly gone over to the imperialist camp and pretended to be a friend of the Greek democratic movement." Now, however, the Jugoslavs had "stabbed the Democratic Army in the back" and the military struggle had to cease.[6] The rebel radio broadcast the news on November 4, summarizing the reasons as follows: "Tito's treachery; the exploitation of this treachery by the Americans; the latter's growing determination to hold their bridgehead in Greece;

[5] *The New Central European Observer*, London, April 30, 1949.
[6] *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*, Bucharest, November 18, 1949.

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increased U.S. aid to Monarcho-Fascism; and so forth." The Party line, the radio added, was formally changed. Henceforth the emphasis would be on "the organization and leadership of the political and economic struggles of all the strata of the working people—above all, the working class and employees, the displaced peasants, the hundreds of thousands of wounded, the war victims, the women and the youth."

The admission that Greek nationalism had won a military victory and that Greek Communism must try to regain its hold on the masses by returning to the first principles of social action did not mean, of course, that propaganda warfare or even terroristic acts had to cease. Soon Nicolas Zachariades was writing in the Cominform journal that the American aim of creating a "Belgrade-Athens axis" must be fought "concretely, daily, constantly and tirelessly." As an example of what he meant he suggested sabotage of Jugoslav railway lines. But nothing could hide the fact that once again the feud with Belgrade had damaged Soviet Russia. It had drawn attention to the difference between her interests and those of her satellites. It had split the Greek Communist forces. It had helped the Truman Doctrine achieve its purpose sooner than might otherwise have happened.

In the autumn of 1950 as so often in the past Russia faced the old dilemma that if she favored one Balkan nation too openly she would outrage the others. The Soviet leaders now were aware, too, that when they spoke of a nation they could not exclude the Communists in it: Tito had added a complication to the Soviet game instead of simplifying it. The temptation to set the Bulgars loose against Tito must nevertheless have been very strong. The Bulgarian Army was newly equipped with Russian arms and had been reorganized by the new Minister of Defense, Lieutenant-General Peter Panchevsky, a former Soviet Army officer. Another former Soviet officer, General Novikov, was in command at the key center of Plovdiv. The size of the Bulgarian Army was not known precisely—certainly it was in excess of the 55,000 permitted by the peace treaty—but in any case, though growing, it was still smaller than the Jugoslav Army and inferior to it also in training and morale. Nevertheless Korea